

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 145921

TOSEC 351

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)
SUBJECT: REACTIONS TO MOSCOW SUMMIT.

1. FOLLOWING IS INR ROUNDUP OF PRESS AND OTHER ACTIONS
TO CONCLUSION OF SUMMIT MEETING AVAILABLE AS OF 1300 EDT,
JULY 5, FURTHER TO THAT REPORTED IN SPECIAL SUMMARY NO. 10,
TOSEC 323.

2. USSR:

--(A). MEDIA COMMENTARY HAS STRESSED COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE
ABOUT SUMMIT'S "OPEN AND CONSTRUCTIVE CHARACTER" AND
"FRUITFUL RESULTS." IZVESTIYA TERMED THE TALKS AN "IMPOR-
TANT MILESTONE" WHILE PRAVDA APPARENTLY CARRIED ONLY
SELECTIVE POSITIVE QUOTES ON THE "CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS OF
THE TALKS."

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--(B). THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S ECONOMIC DAILY, SOCIALI INDUSTRY, ALSO TERMED THE TALKS AN "IMPORTANT MILESTONE" AND DESCRIBED THE NEW ARMS AGREEMENTS, TAKEN TOGETHER, AS "AN ESSENTIAL ADVANCE." THE PAPER PARTICULARLY WELCOMED THE AGREEMENT ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND CONCLUDED THAT PESSIMISTIC SUMMIT FORECASTS IN THE US AND WEST EUROPE PROVED TO BE UNFOUNDED.

3. UK:

--(A). THE TIMES CONCLUDED THAT THE RESULTS HAD BEEN "SOMETHING OF A DISAPPOINTMENT." IT SAID THAT THE AGREEMENTS REACHED ONLY FORMALIZED THE EXISTING SITUATION OR REPRESENTED ONLY A LIMITED ADVANCE. IT FELT, HOWEVER, THAT MOSCOW'S "RATHER LIMITED CONCESSION" TO ALLOW FOREIGN OBSERVERS ON ITS SOIL TO MONITOR NUCLEAR TESTS IS AN IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE, IF IT IS IMPLEMENTED.

--(B). THE GUARDIAN SAID THAT THE WHOLE WORLD SHOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR THE NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS AND THAT THE SUMMIT WILL MAKE THE WORLD A SAFER PLACE THAN IT WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE BEEN IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS OR SO.

--(C). THE DAILY TELEGRAPH COMMENTED THAT FOR EUROPE THE ASPECT THAT TOWERS ABOVE ALL OTHERS IS THAT THERE WAS NO MENTION OF ANY SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO REDUCE ITS OVERWHELMING CONVENTIONAL MILITARY SUPERIORITY, WHICH COULD NOW DESTROY THE NATO ARMIES IN TWO DAYS.

4. FRG: WEST GERMAN NEWSPAPERS GENERALLY CONCLUDED THAT THE PRESIDENT RETURNED FROM MOSCOW WITH "MEAGER RESULTS" BECAUSE THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT ON CONTROL OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS.

--(A). THE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE SAID THAT "THE IMAGE OF A GLOBAL PEACE STRUCTURE, AS ENVISAGED BY KISSINGER, CANNOT BE TRANSLATED INTO REALITY FOR THE BEING." DIE WELT SAW THE MIRV ARMS RACE CONTINUING UNABATED AND BELIEVED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S "DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES PREVENTED ANY CONCRETE AGREEMENT FROM THE VERY OUTSET." THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, IN CONTRAST, DID NOT BELIEVE THAT WATERGATE HAMPERED THE PRESIDENT'S NEGOTIATING ABILITY BECAUSE "THE SOVIET UNION HAS TAKEN WATERGATE INTO ACCOUNT...."

--(B). THE NEWSPAPERS WERE FAR MORE POSITIVE IN COMMENTING ON THE SUMMIT'S POLITICAL ASPECTS. THE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE VIEWED THE SUMMIT AGREEMENTS AS AFFORDING THE

PRESIDENT AND BREZHNEV AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONTINUE MEETINGS AND CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD POWERS. THE STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG STRESSED THAT THE US ENERGETICALLY ASSERTED THE INTERESTS OF ITS WESTERN ALLIES. SIMILAR STATEMENTS WERE MADE BY THE MUENCHNER MERKUR AND FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU.

5. FRANCE:

--(A). LE FIGARO STATED THAT THE THIRD SUMMIT "HAS NOT LIVED UP TO THE PROMISE OF THE TWO PREVIOUS ONES." HOWEVER, EVEN IF THE THIRD MEETING HAS SOLVED NOTHING, IT IS "ANOTHER STEP ON THE ROAD TO DETENTE."

--(B). LE MONDE DESCRIBED THE MEETING AS "A STEP BACKWARD...A HALF-FAILURE."

6. ITALY: ITALIAN COMMENTATORS ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY VIEWED THE SUMMIT AS SUCCESSFUL AND AS AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD TOWARD "IRREVERSIBLE" DETENTE.

--(A). BRUNO TEDESCHI'S LEAD ARTICLE IN IL MESSAGGERO, REPRESENTATIVE OF MOST ITALIAN COMMENTS, WROTE: "AT THIS STAGE OF THE US-SOVIET DIALOGUE NO SPECTACULAR AGREEMENTS WERE PLANNED BUT ONLY...NEW CONCRETE ELEMENTS TO CONFIRM ABOVE ALL THE SPIRIT OF DETENTE AND THE SPIRIT OF IRREVERSIBILITY OF PEACE AND THE COOPERATION PROCESS IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES AND THE WORLD. THIS GOAL WAS FULLY ACHIEVED BY THE THIRD SUMMIT."

--(B). THE SOCIALIST AVANTI EXPRESSED THE FEAR THAT THE SUMMIT "REASSERTED THE SOVIET-AMERICAN...DETERMINATION TO PROCEED ALONG THE ROAD OF DETENTE AND PEACE BY REAFFIRM-
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ING BIPOLAR HEGEMONY."

7. CHINA: PEKING'S MEDIA TREATMENT OF THE SUMMIT HAS BEEN LIMITED TO A BRIEF FACTUAL REPORT OF JULY 4.

8. JAPAN (BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL)

--(A). A FOREIGN MINISTRY BACKGROUNDER WELCOMED THE AGREEMENTS AS A STEP TOWARD NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT IN THE FACE OF A WORLDWIDE TREND TOWARD NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. WHILE REGRETTING THE LACK OF AGREEMENT ON MIRVS, FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCES HOPED THAT THE US AND THE SOVIETS WOULD WORK TOGETHER IN THE NEW SALT ROUND AND FELT THAT PERIODICALLY CONTINUED SUMMIT CONTACT WOULD OF ITSELF LEAD TO FURTHER DETENTE. FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS HAVE

TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT THEY ARE DISAPPOINTED THAT THE SUMMIT AGREEMENTS SHOW NO PROGRESS ON ISSUES WHICH HINDER US COOPERATION WITH JAPAN IN SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS. (END CONFIDENTIAL)

--(B). JAPAN BROADCASTING CORP. EMPHASIZED THE AGREEMENTS RESTRICTING UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTS BUT NOTED THAT NO

PROGRESS WAS MADE ON SALT II NEGOTIATIONS. IT COMMENTED THAT THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP DID NOT PRODUCE MANY RESULTS BECAUSE WATERGATE HAD LED TO A LACK OF PREPARATION FOR THE TALKS. ASAHI SAID THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY GAVE A "QUALIFIED WELCOME" TO THE AGREEMENTS BUT ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THEY WOULD HAVE LITTLE OR NO EFFECT IN CHECKING THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS SUCH AS INDIA'S NUCLEAR TEST THREATEN TO BRING.

9. SOUTH KOREA: HEAVY PRESS COVERAGE GENERALLY ASSESSED THE MOSCOW SUMMIT OUTCOME AS "HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT" FOR WORLD PEACE YET DISAPPOINTINGLY UNSUCCESSFUL IN NEGOTIATING PERMANENT LIMITATIONS OF OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR ARMS. THE OFFICIAL SEOUL SHINMUN SAID THAT, SINCE FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT ON LIMITING NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAS NOT BEEN REACHED, THE MOSCOW SUMMIT WOULD ONLY GIVE THE SOVIETS TIME TO "CATCH UP" WITH THE US.

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10. EGYPT: RADIO COMMENT FOCUSED ON THE REFERENCE IN THE US-SOVIET JOINT STATEMENT TO THE "INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE." ONE COMMENTATOR SAID THE STATEMENT SHOULD PROPERLY HAVE REFERRED TO THE "RIGHTS" RATHER THAN THE "INTERESTS" OF THE PALESTINIANS.

11. ISRAEL: SEVERAL PAPERS NOTED A "LACK OF PROGRESS" AT THE SUMMIT. DAVAR EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT "THE REFERENCE TO THE SUPPORT OF THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE." THE SUMMIT ENDED, ACCORDING TO YEDIOT AHARONOT, IN "A DRAW FROM AMERICA'S STANDPOINT AND A CLEAR LOSS FOR US."

12. INDIA:

--(A). AN OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN WELCOMED THE NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS SIGNED IN MOSCOW AND SAID THE DECISION SPECIFICALLY TO EXCLUDE UNDERGROUND PEACEFUL EXPLOSIONS FROM THE TESTING AGREEMENT WAS IN LINE WITH THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT'S THINKING.

--(B). THE CONGRESS PARTY-ORIENTED NATIONAL HERALD COMMENTED THAT "...THE SOVIET AIM OF TOTAL DISARMAMENT OFFERS

GREATER SECURITY THAN THE US AIM OF A CONTROLLED ARMS RACE...ARMS CONTROL IS NOT ENOUGH; THE AIM SHOULD BE TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF DISARMAMENT IN WHICH THERE WILL BE NO NEED FOR ARMS CONTROL."

13. PAKISTAN: THE PRO-GOVERNMENT NEWS WELCOMED THE AGREEMENT SIGNED IN MOSCOW AND STATED: "IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT FOR BOTH SUPERPOWERS TO DO SOMETHING CONCRETE TO LIMIT STRATEGIC ARMS INSTEAD OF POSTPONING THEIR

DECISION FOR A FUTURE DATE. THEY MUST KNOW THAT DELAY CAN BE DANGEROUS. INDIA'S NUCLEAR EXPLOSION IS ENCOURAGING OTHERS TO JOIN THE DEADLY GAME."

14. BRAZIL: THE IMPORTANT NEWSWEEKLY VEJA COMMENTED THAT "...FOR THE AMERICANS, THE DETENTE WITH THE SOVIETS NECESSARILY BYPASSES THE WESTERN EUROPEAN ALLIES. SIGNIFICANTLY, NIXON'S CURRENT DIPLOMATIC TOUR BEGAN IN BRUSSELS WITH THE SIGNING OF THE NEW NATO CHARTER, AS IF HE WERE CONFIDENTIAL

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EMPHASIZING THAT DESPITE ITS RAPPROCHEMENT WITH THE SOVIETS THE US WILL NOT ABANDON ITS TRADITIONAL ALLIES.... HIS TRIP MIGHT NOT HAVE A HISTORIC MEANING FOR SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, FOR PEACE, AND FOR MANKIND. BUT IT AT LEAST WILL HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO MAINTAIN DETENTE ALIVE." THE BUSINESS-ORIENTED DAILY DIARIO DO COMMERIO E INDUSTRIA OF SAO PAULO SAID THAT "...WHAT THE WORLD POWERS LACK IS MUTUAL CONFIDENCE....AS AN ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE FROM WATERGATE, NIXON WANTS TO MAKE A SCORE AGAINST HIS OPPONENTS...." SISCO

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